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and the swiftness of her step.' This Vila has a resemblance to the *Peri* of the Persians. The tragical incident in the 'Building of Scadra' was owing to her imperious decree. She demanded the sacrifice of a human victim before the walls could be raised. In the following lines, *vishnia* means 'the Vistula cherry tree,' to which the Vilas are said to be partial.

VILAS.

'Vishnia ! lovely vishnia !
Lift thy branches higher ;
For beneath thy branches,
Vilas dance delighted ;
While Radisha dashes
From the flow'rs the dewdrops.
Vilas two conveying,
To the third he whispers ;
" O be mine, sweet Vila !
Thou, with mine own mother,
In the shade shalt seat thee ;
Silken vestments spinning,
Weaving golden garments." ' p. 157.

We cannot take leave of this little volume of Servian poems, without expressing our unfeigned acknowledgment to the translator for this new gem, which he has added to the diadem of English literature. His labors in the novel walks, which he has chosen, have all been successful and important, and none more so than the last. After the agreeable entertainment he has now given us, we shall be impatient to meet him again in his *Finnish Runes*, and learn from his report what the muses have deigned to sing on the northern borders of the Baltic.

ART. VI.—*The Life and Correspondence of Major Cartwright.*

Edited by his Niece, F. D. CARTWRIGHT. 2 vols. 8vo.
London. 1826.

THE distinction between great wit and madness is not more nice, according to the satirist, than that between revolutions and revolts, reformers and alarmists. Even with minds of a passable share of liberality, there is, we fear, some little odium in ill success. The hero is not always complete to the vulgar eye,

unless he gains his point; and he may think himself happy to secure even the secondary fame of the martyr. Nay, the reformer, who has incurred the disapprobation of an age or a people, that he has been unable to carry along with him, sometimes even with the best grounds for his appeal, fails to have his sentence reversed by posterity, though it be, in common cases, the most impartial of tribunals. The adventurer in physical philosophy is much more secure of this posthumous justice, because his principles are equally true under all circumstances, and the glory of discovery necessarily remains with him, who demonstrates them first. But the opinions of the political philosopher may be entirely just, his aims most patriotic and laudable, and a future age, or a different community, may applaud and adopt them, yet he himself, if he do not meanwhile fall into oblivion, remain the victim of the obloquy which he incurred during his lifetime. The reason is, we suppose, that if not his principles, at least the circumstances under which he would enforce them, and the means and occasions he selects, are to be estimated by the mutable moral circumstances of society; and that the expediency by which his enterprises are to be measured, is often not more easily ascertained by posterity than it is at the moment of action. Besides, as a politician may sometimes in his theories transcend the possible in this imperfect condition of things, so he may outgo the general progress of opinion in his age or nation; and, though this cannot alter the truth, it may, in the most sober judgment, affect the estimate of his mode of contending for it. To not a few of these political reformers it happens, indeed, as to the pioneer in a new country, who enters the wilderness, and perishes in it, which his children afterwards inhabit in safety and opulence.

They, who thus unsuccessfully lead the war against the political errors of their own age or country, can hardly, at least, expect praise from those whom they have vainly attempted to mend. If they cannot content themselves with that reward which arises, according to metaphysicians, out of the mere perception of truth, apart from the praise which is due to the discovery of it, they must therefore carry their appeal to those from whose later age, or more fortunate moral circumstances, a less partial judgment may be hoped. Perhaps the subject of the memoir, of which the title stands at the head of this article, has some claim to enter an appeal of this sort with us on this side of the water, while the course of time and events is proving

the worth and truth of his opinions in his own country. His principles appear, indeed, to have been much better suited to the meridian of America than of England, where it was his fate, through a long life, to labor in their assertion with an ardor, which might be deemed importunate in a cause less honest, and to die nearly as remote as ever from their accomplishment, while, in the mean time, the rancor of party has heaped a thousand scurrilities on his name.

We doubt if even in America, the name of this sturdy champion of reform is associated with just notions of his views and character, and whether it does not borrow some stigma from the names in whose company it has often come to us. It was, indeed, a principle of his, that if his cause was good, it was a small concern with whom he went forth to battle for it. Yet this 'old radical,' this 'heart of sedition,' as Mr Canning once called him, and whom we are apt to name with a Hunt and a Cobbett, has numbered among his friends, or coadjutors, some of the best and wisest geniuses that have adorned our age; a Pitt, a Fox, a Sheridan, a Jones, a Wilberforce, a Whitbread, a Parr, and a Price. The history of his various political connexions presents some edifying commentaries on the progressive growth of patriots into placemen; and it will probably strike most readers of the occurrences of his times, that neither the extreme to which our reformer was accused of carrying his doctrines, nor the emergencies of the period, will account so well for the desertions and the persecutions he experienced, as certain other considerations, which, to the disgrace of human nature, are so common in politicians, as scarcely any longer to be considered a reproach. In fact, while our upright reformer adhered, with his characteristic pertinacity, to what he deemed the strait line of political rectitude, he found a great many of his associates gambolling in the convenient spiral of *expediency*, which was sometimes, it may be presumed, rather a private than a public expediency. He was a very Sysiphus, whose rock of reform never reached the summit, though he gave it his shoulder full half a century.

But whatever disrespect or ill success may have pursued our champion on his own soil, his name deserves a better reception on ours, where the doctrines of liberty have a wider sway, and where gratitude, too, interposes some claim in his behalf. At a time when no member of the British parliament seems to have conceived, either the justice or the policy of conceding

independence to the colonies, Cartwright had the boldness and the forecast to propose it, suggesting, in his work entitled *American Independence*, a union between the colonies and the mother state, under separate legislatures. The issue is panegyric sufficient on this proposition, of whose advantage to England Mr Laurens was so sensible, that when asked his opinion of it, he made this forcible reply; ‘That it was better for the repose of mankind that it should not take place, since it would render the kingdom thus united too formidable to the rest of the world.’ Horne Tooke declared, that half a dozen such men as Cartwright, in each county, would have arrested the American war. Indeed, the date of our obligation is older yet; for it appears from Evelyn’s Memoirs, that symptoms of resistance to the mother country having manifested themselves in New England in his day, conciliatory measures were adopted in consequence of representations made to the council by Colonel Cartwright, an ancestor of the Major’s. As the reformer himself, during many years, and by various publications, proved the steadfast friend of America, he seems to have the like claim with another venerable name, to reparation in the gratitude of this fortunate shore, for what he may have lost in behalf of liberty on another. With a feeling of this kind, combined with a natural and more general interest for all the votaries of liberty, we propose, though the biography of the reformer has not been republished in this country, to give from it some particulars of his life, with the wish to introduce to the better acquaintance of our countrymen a character not, perhaps, generally understood by them.

John Cartwright was born on the seventeenth of September (old style), 1740, at Marnham, in Nottinghamshire. His family was of remote antiquity, and suffered in its possessions by adhering to Charles the First. One of his ancestors was an intimate of the celebrated Cranmer, and married his daughter; and, on the dissolution of the abbeys, received three of them from that prelate, then Archbishop of Canterbury. The abbey of Ossington, a part of this benefaction, is still in the family. The father of the subject of our memoir, was a man of much energy of character, and was also something of a reformer; for to him the public is indebted for the abolition of that bugbear to decayed gentlemen, the practice of giving vails to servants. This measure was solemnly proposed by the Duke of Norfolk, *at a county meeting*, and Mr Cartwright was the forlorn hope

who first carried it into execution ; for such was the indignation of the serving-men at this invasion of a venerable abuse, that it was really expected the attempt would be followed by serious consequences. John used to say, that his father had a genius for encountering difficulties, of which a better proof can hardly be mentioned, than that he was thirty years engaged in persuading the gentry of his neighborhood to the undertaking of a public work, whose expense did not, in the end, exceed eight thousand pounds. Of the brothers of the reformer, George is well known as the author of a *Journal of Sixteen Years' Residence in Labrador*, and Edmund was a useful mechanician, celebrated for the invention of the power-loom.

At five years of age, John was sent to a grammar school at Newark, and afterwards at Heath Academy, in Yorkshire, to neither of which seminaries does he seem to have owed much obligation. He often complained of the deficiency of his early education, in which, except a little Latin, he acquired no language but his own ; and, like a good many others, he was forced to make up by self instruction, for the neglect or ignorance of the pedagogue. He made some proficiency, however, in mechanics and practical mathematics, by means of which he was afterwards a useful associate to his ingenious brother, Dr Cartwright. His vacations, and a good part of his childhood, were passed under the roof of John Viscount Tyrconnel, who had married his father's sister, and whose sturdy whiggism may have given some bias to the youthful mind of his nephew. It is of this zealous old politician that the story is told, that when divine service was performing in his chapel at Belton, he was observed to be greatly agitated during the reading of the prayer for parliament, stirring the fire with violence, and muttering impatiently to himself, 'Nothing but a miracle can mend them.' Young Cartwright's parents wished to retain him at home, and educate him to agricultural pursuits. But though his temper was extremely gentle, and his exterior calm and contemplative, he was desirous of active employment, and in a sudden fit of enthusiasm for the great Frederick, who was then successfully building up Prussia at the expense of her neighbors, he left home to enlist in his service as a volunteer. This brilliant scheme, which, with a temper as impatient of tyranny as his, was likely to end in Spandau or Magdeburg, had fortunately a more sober termination in his being allowed, at the intercession of his mother, to enter the navy of his own country. The

young sailor was at the taking of Cherbourg, and subsequently in the celebrated seafight between Sir Edward Hawke and the French admiral Conflans, in which, of the twentysix men he had under his command, thirteen were killed at his side, himself escaping with a slight scratch from a splinter. Lord Howe being afterwards selected to a service of some danger, in the same expedition, chose only one lieutenant and two midshipmen to accompany him, of whom Cartwright was one; a circumstance which gave him extreme satisfaction. Indeed Lord Howe and old Captain Baird, the companion of Lord Anson, seem greatly to have excited the admiration of our young hero. The former was habitually taciturn, and had a solemn gravity of countenance, which procured him from the sailors the nickname of 'Black Dick;' and Cartwright used to relate, that it was a saying among them, 'We are going to have some fun in the fighting way, for Black Dick has a smile on his face.'

While yet a midshipman, and at the age of twentyone, Cartwright turned his attention to the improvement of the exercise of the great guns on board ship, and his suggestions are given by his friend Falconer, the poet, in his *Marine Dictionary*, under the article 'Exercise.' Always impatient of inaction, he also proposed to Lord Howe to burn some French men-of-war lying at the mouth of the Charente; a project declined as too hazardous, but with high commendations of the young man's spirit and intelligence. In 1762, he was promoted to a lieutenancy, and, in 1766, to be first lieutenant of the *Guernsey*, then on the Newfoundland station, where he was appointed by Sir Hugh Palliser, his deputy or surrogate within two districts; in 1767, he was made deputy commissary to the Vice Admiralty Court in Newfoundland. In these posts, and during the whole of his naval service, he possessed the confidence of his superior officers, and excited sentiments of kindness in those under his command, which some of the most distinguished veterans in the navy used afterwards to acknowledge in strong terms. Among them were Admiral Young, Admiral Berkely, Admiral Charles Hamilton, and Captain King, who accompanied Captain Cook round the world. The first sent for his old friend on his death bed, to remind him of their early friendship; and the last used to say, with tears in his eyes, that his friend Cartwright had been a father to him.

During his residence in Newfoundland, he made a short

exploratory journey into the interior, as far as a lake which he named *Lieutenant's Lake*, and which proved to be the source of the river *Exploits*. To this expedition, which occupied him ten or twelve days, and in which, as occurred to him on occasions of a different kind, he left his over-wearied companions behind him, he often reverted with great satisfaction, remarking that he did not wonder at the attachment of hunters and backwoodsmen to this wild and independent sort of life. Amidst these solitary birch woods, whose stillness was seldom disturbed by a deer, or even a bird, and where the whole day's refreshment was perhaps a few whortle or cranberries, it was a luxury to sit at night by a fire of pine branches, on which he broiled his supper of reindeer's flesh, and then to sleep soundly on a bed of birch bark and leaves. On his return from this country to England, he brought with him an Esquimaux woman, from whose astonishment at every thing she saw, 'I derived,' he says, 'a singular entertainment.' Though brought up a barbarian, she soon became not a little civilized, showing no lack, at least, of those passions which distinguish polite ladies in refined countries; for, though a fright herself, she found much fault with the Englishwomen's dress, and could by no means allow them to be handsome. To the men, on the contrary, she showed much more justice. There is a well known story of this woman, that, on being shown the interior of St Paul's, she was so struck with astonishment and awe, that her knees shook under her, and, leaning on her conductor, she asked in a tremulous voice, 'Did man make it, or was it found here?' When informed that she must return to her own country, the money for her support being expended, she asked why she could not go into the woods, and kill venison; and when told that she would be hanged if she killed venison in England, she laughed heartily, exclaiming in a tone of great contempt, 'Hanged for killing venison! That's too foolish.'

On quitting Newfoundland, in 1770, Lieutenant Cartwright, with his characteristic disinterestedness, gave in a memorial in behalf of his successor in the deputyship, representing the inadequacy of the pay, though he had himself, for five years, suffered all the inconvenience of it without murmur. In this year he published a letter on the ornamental designs for ships' heads, moved thereto, it would appear, from seeing the head of a ship called the *Queen*, decorated, not with some gentle *personification* of Queen Charlotte, but with a ferocious lion,

with jaws distended for carnage. He suggested in this letter a nautic order of architecture, an idea he afterwards matured in his designs for a temple of naval celebration. He wrote, too, though unacquainted with the inventor, a strong commendation of Bentinck's newly invented chain pump. On the commencement of the Spanish war, on account of the Falkland Islands, he was invited by Lord Howe to be one of his lieutenants, and gladly accepted the offer; but on the dispute being adjusted, he returned home to repair his health, which had been injured by the hardships he encountered in Newfoundland, and which continued indifferent for many years after. He was at one time given up by many of the faculty; but his life was saved by the celebrated Dr James. During this interval he was not idle, however, but employed it in writing a pamphlet on the rights and interests of Fishing Companies; and, notwithstanding his bad state of health, was extremely anxious to be sent on the northern expedition which went out under Captain Phipps. His attention to this subject may be seen in the information, which he supplied to Daines Barrington, in his work on the possibility of approaching the North Pole. In the expeditions of Ross and Parry, at a later day, he felt a very lively interest. In the year 1772, he drew up a plan for a perpetual supply of English oak for the navy, of which a reverend bishop candidly remarked, what might have been said of many other schemes of our reformer, 'We are not honest enough for such plans as these.' This plan, however, after ten years' endeavor on his part to bring it to the notice of government, was afterwards partially adopted, but without any acknowledgment of its author.

In 1774, he wrote his 'Letter to Edmund Burke,' and his attention became turned to political subjects. It was in this year, and about the time that our Patrick Henry broached the same idea here, that he began to print his *Letters on American Independence*. On publishing this work, he caused a short argument to be printed, which, together with the tract itself, was distributed to the members at the door of parliament. He did not argue this great question, like some of his contemporaries, on the ground of charters or acts of parliament, nor, like others, on that of expediency, but on the broad foundation of natural and inherent right. 'It is,' says he, 'a capital error in the reasonings of several writers on this subject, that they consider the liberty of mankind in the same light as an estate

or chattel, and go about to prove or disprove their right to it, by grants, usage, or municipal statutes. 'It is not among mouldy parchments that we are to look for it; it is the immediate gift of God; it is not derived from any one, but is original in every one.' 'I deny that Magna Charta is the basis of the English constitution. It is indeed a glorious member of the superstructure, and was but a formal declaration of rights already known to be the constitutional inheritance of every Englishman.' His arguments probably made little impression on the public, which had neither gone so far in the science of liberty, nor was of such a temper towards the colonies, as to render them palatable. *Taxation no Tyranny*, with its narrow principles and unapt illustrations, was better seasoned to its taste, having already gone through three editions. If the welfare of the governed is any argument in these great questions, the present situation of this country says as little for the political wisdom, or the foresight of Johnson, as it is honorable to those of this uncompromising assertor of liberty. Cartwright published a second edition of his work in 1775, in which year he was appointed major of the Nottinghamshire militia, the title by which he was generally distinguished afterwards, and is best known.

He was indefatigable in training this corps, exerting in its discipline his customary inflexibility. On one of the training marches, perceiving that the men loitered in an unmilitary manner, he assured them he would find means to prevent such irregularity in future, and the offence being repeated the next day, he drew them up just as they came in sight of their quarters for the night, and facing them about, marched them three miles back. Another anecdote will show what opinion was had of his integrity. A soldier had been sentenced to be flogged, and was advised, as he had a vote for Nottingham, for which place the Major was proposed, to plead to him for forgiveness. 'It will be of no use,' said the man, 'and for that very reason.' He had to encounter many petty intrigues in this post, and was much annoyed and thwarted, as his political opinions began to be known. He kept it, however, with proportional pertinacity, till in the year 1791, having attended a meeting to celebrate the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastile, the Duke of Newcastle sent to inform him, that in consequence of it he could not promote him to the lieutenant colonelcy of the regiment, then vacant. A less determined man would have resigned

in such circumstances ; but the Major was in no humor thus to oblige his pursuers, and even when resort was had to the supposed authority of an act of parliament to displace him, he still remained deaf to the hint. At length the duke commissioned another major in his place ; but to this, considering it illegal, he paid no attention, declaring he should still appear in uniform at his post. His dismissal was accomplished at last, in 1792, by virtue of some recent act of parliament. No soldier, certainly, could have defended his post better ; and we may learn from this anecdote both his obstinate resistance of what he thought injustice, and what sort of odium this untractableness was fitted to excite in his opponents. An old acquaintance used to say of him to his wife, ‘Your husband, madam, is the best bred obstinate man I ever was acquainted with.’

A transaction, which took place in 1776, proved that this firmness obtained also in his political principles. He had always been eager of promotion in the navy, and Lord Howe being appointed at this time to command against the colonies, signified to the Major a desire of having him along with him in America. Cartwright, though very sensible of the advantages of the proposal, and though he was then attached to a lady whom by these means he would have been put into a situation to marry, had the integrity and spirit to refuse it, at some risk even to his reputation as a soldier, alleging that he could not do wrong to his principles, by fighting in a cause which he disapproved. It is stated by his biographer, that some proposition had been made to him about this time, of a command in the American navy ; ‘but I thought,’ said he, ‘that nothing could absolve me from my duty to my own country, and that I ought to stick to the old ship as long as there was a plank of her above water.’ In this year he received the freedom of the town of Nottingham, the compliment being rendered more grateful by being made at the same time to Sir George Saville ; and he wrote his earliest work on parliamentary reform, the first, with the exception of some tracts by the late Earl Stanhope, ever expressly published on the subject.

From this time forward he was devoted to the two great objects of annual parliaments and universal suffrage ; through what difficulties, and with what eventual ill success, is well known to such as are conversant with the history of the times. The work referred to, was called *Take your Choice*, and to the second edition of it he prefixed another, entitled ‘The

Legislative Rights of the Commonalty Vindicated ;' in both these tracts he lays down equal representation as a right, and annual election as a security for its preservation. It seems that a passage in 'Take your Choice' gave vehement offence to the Duke of Richmond, 'who, with the book in his pocket, and the offensive leaf turned down, introduced himself to the author.' The interview, thus inauspiciously begun, had a very different issue from what is usual with two controvertists, resulting not only in mutual satisfaction as to each other's sentiments, but in a friendship and correspondence of some duration. A short time after, in April, 1777, Major Cartwright presented to the king an address recommending peace with America, and proposing the union, which he had suggested in his *American Independence*. 'I heartily wish,' says he in a letter, 'that his majesty may be wise enough, and good enough, to pay attention to it, as I am very certain he would find it for his happiness and peace.' His book led him to an acquaintance with Mr Burke, which, from the tory principles always felt perhaps, and, soon after, openly professed by the latter, was probably of very short duration. One of our politician's most intimate associates was Lord Effingham, who had refused to serve in the American war from like scruples with his friend's. This nobleman used to say, that he thought Lord North's life of the greatest consequence to the country, as it was evident, should he die, there would come into the cabinet 'seven spirits worse than the first.' The publication at this time, of a pamphlet by the celebrated Dr Price, justifying every material principle asserted in 'American Independence,' gave great pleasure to its author. 'It is with infinite satisfaction,' says he in a letter, 'that I find the wisest and best men now adopting the plan I was the first to propose four years ago, of entering into an alliance with the colonies as independent states.'

Indefatigable in his pursuits, Cartwright exerted himself in the following year to form a Society of Political Inquiry, and the plan, though ineffectual, probably laid the foundation of the Society for Constitutional Information, instituted in 1789. In the latter end of the year, he was invited to stand for the town of Nottingham; but, on the offering of another candidate, his friends advised him to decline. He was equally unsuccessful in the county, his opponent being supported by the Duke of Portland, who wrote to Major Cartwright, alleging the near relation of the rival candidate to his Grace, and warning him

against a second disappointment. To this the Major replied, that he himself was rather more nearly related to his Grace, if pedigree gave any pretension to a seat in parliament; that as to disappointment in another election, he should do, as he presumed his Grace would, what he thought best for the public good; and, that his Lordship might see he was above flattering any man, that he must necessarily be right because he was a whig, and opposed to a set of very bad ministers. His subsequent efforts for a seat in parliament met with no better success, nor had he ever an opportunity of pressing his political views in that assembly. One cause of this was probably his uncompromising opinions as to the purity of elections. He always declared he would not expend a shilling in an election, even for a ball; and it was in one of these borough negotiations, that he begged it would be remembered, 'that he had no political gratitude.'

When in the year 1779, the British fleet was driven into harbor before the combined fleets of France and Spain, Major Cartwright on the spur of the occasion, formed a plan of defence uniting military and naval operations, to the merit of which the Duke of Richmond, and General Debbieg, bore honorable testimony. He likewise planned a defence of the dockyard at Portsmouth, and devoted some attention to a system of naval surveying, by which to ascertain the exact movements of a fleet during action. Something of the same sort was introduced by Napoleon, as useful in clearing up points respecting manœuvres, involving sometimes the reputation of officers. In the beginning of the next year, a general meeting for the redress of grievances was held in the county of Nottingham, of which he was the original mover. The Duke of Portland was chairman of the committee of correspondence voted by this meeting, and his brother, Lord Edward Bentinck, was chosen a deputy to the convention from the petitioning towns. Cartwright was chosen deputy for the town of Nottingham. Soon after was held at the King's Arms the Westminster Committee, in which resolutions were passed on the state of the representation, and of which Sheridan was chairman. And in the same spring, our politician accomplished what he had long had at heart, the establishment of a Society for Constitutional Information. He himself wrote the first address of this Society, which included some of the first talent and respectability of the kingdom; among the rest, Dr Price, Granville Sharp,

General Fitzpatrick, Lord Surrey (afterwards Duke of Norfolk), the Duke of Richmond, Sir Cecil Wray, Alderman Sawbridge, Sir John Sinclair, Sheridan, Day (author of 'Sandford and Merton'), Dr Edwards, Stratford Canning (uncle of the present premier), the Earl of Selkirk, and others. He was the author also of a 'Declaration of Rights,' published and distributed by the Society, which Sir William Jones said 'ought to be written in letters of gold.' Though little apt to mention what was flattering to himself, the old Major used to relate with great pleasure, that the immortal Chatham exclaimed, on reading this production, 'Aye, this is right, this is very right.' He enforced the same principles in '*The People's Barrier against Undue Influence and Corruption*,' published in the same year. In November of this year, 1780, he was married to Anne Katharine Dashwood, eldest daughter of Samuel Dashwood of Well Vale, Lincolnshire. Circumstances had deferred this union for nine years. Their constancy was rewarded by fortyfour years of connubial harmony, and he imputed to this worthy woman, not only the chief happiness of his life, but its prolongation beyond the ordinary term of man. He always addressed her in his letters, as his 'dearest and best friend.' In the following year were written his 'Letters on the Inequality of Representation, and the Inadequacy of Petitions to Parliament for mere Reform in Public Expenditures.' In consequence of the death of his father at this period, he was, for some time after, much engaged in the arrangement of family matters. On this occasion he gave an instance of his usual singular disinterestedness. He had, some time before, expressed an apprehension that his father's will might be too favorable to himself, to the injury of others, and it was probably owing to his representations that the old gentleman made a new one, constituting his eldest surviving son George, his executor and heir to his principal estate. George had been unfortunate in some speculations in Labrador, and his embarrassments made him desirous of disposing of the family estate of Marnham. John became its purchaser, and took up his residence on it, devoting himself at the same time so assiduously to settling the family affairs, that for a twelvemonth he seldom labored less than eleven hours a day. His care of his family was incessant; his grandfather used to say, 'He was born to be the father of it!' He found time, however, to submit to Lords Howe and Keppel a plan for raising the Royal George,

which, with the fate of many of his propositions, though allowed to be the best, was never put in execution.

Nor did he forget his favorite project of parliamentary reform, though it would not be very interesting to mention all the meetings for the promotion of it, in which he bore a part. At one which Fox called at Westminster, to apologise to his electors for his resignation, our politician remarked, that though he had heard much of the impracticableness and absurdity of equal representation, it seemed to him there was no greater hardship in giving every man a right to elect, than there was in his being taxed in the minutest article of food and raiment. Speaking of Fox a day or two previous, he said, 'I wish his constituents would give him three thousand pounds a year, and keep him out of office;' and of Lord Shelburne he held the same tone. 'The last time I saw him,' he writes, 'he said all I could possibly wish; he was not then a minister.' This ministerial malady seems also to have seized on Lord Rockingham, who, when the question of reform was brought forward by Mr Pitt, in 1782, had the misfortune to forget the day of the discussion! Indeed this staunch champion of liberty found, in the progress of his career, so many hollow or lukewarm patriots; so many 'very moderate Whigs,' as somebody once called Dr Robertson; that it was not without reason he said, 'Cæsar has friends, Pompey has friends, but none are friends to Rome.' On this same subject of reform he used to add, 'Why a cobbler in a cinque port shall have his franchise, and a manufacturer in Birmingham shall have none, would puzzle any casuist on earth, except those in our House of Commons.' He persevered however, in spite of defection and defeat, in his political plans and efforts, which, from this time till 1788, were as various and earnest as ever. He promoted the Society for Constitutional Information, and corresponded with the chief patriots of the day in Ireland; he procured petitions from the various unrepresented towns, in aid of Mr Pitt's plan of reform; and he wrote to that statesman his hope, that his specific scheme would completely reinstate the people in their rights. The cause of reform wore at this time a more promising aspect than at any other period of its history, being espoused not only by such as might be stigmatized as low bred and discontented meddlers, but by men of rank and consequence, and ostensibly by ministers themselves. He wrote, also, during this period, a reply to Soame Jenyns' *Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform*,

and cooperated zealously in the efforts of Clarkson and Sharp for the abolition of the slave trade.

The French Revolution, at this time in its infancy, and wearing the most auspicious aspect for the liberties of mankind, was welcomed, it may be supposed, with the liveliest pleasure by this earnest apostle of freedom. On the eighteenth of August, 1789, he addressed, in this spirit, a letter to the 'Committee of the Constitution of the States General.' Not only, however, was this fair prospect soon overclouded in France, but the excesses of the Revolution wrought very disastrously on the cause of reform in England. Not a few of its friends, who had been willing enough to restore the edifice of the Constitution to what they deemed its pristine beauty, were terrified by the storm, which seemed likely to tear it from its foundations, and thought it more prudent to remain in a leaky house, than to enter on repairs amidst this convulsion of the political atmosphere, much less to pull it down, and build it anew. Our reformer, however, was no whit less tenacious of his principles, because he saw them disfigured and abused; nor did he forgive those who, with less pertinacity, yielded them to the alleged expediency of the day. Of Mr Pitt's sincerity he began to entertain some doubts. His friend, Dr Jebb, had told him long before, that 'politically speaking, Pitt was the worst man living, and would go greater lengths to destroy liberty, than any minister ever did before him.' Cartwright, at this time, stopped far short of his friend, in his censure of that energetic minister. 'I confess,' he says, 'that though on parliamentary reform, and a few other points, he has not satisfied me, my objections go no farther than doubts, and these doubts are mixed with hopes of somewhat great and good in future.' Men may differ as to the policy of the two parties in this crisis; but the subsequent censure of Mr Pitt by the 'father of reform,' comes with the more weight from him, as he was far from sharing in the republican notions disseminated by Paine and others. On the contrary, he assiduously labored to counteract them in the popular societies of the day, not merely on Machiavel's principle, that it was wise to retain forms, but in the honest persuasion that the spirit of the English constitution was highly favorable to liberty.

The events of the year 1793, both foreign and domestic, probably gave his rising suspicions of Mr Pitt a more definite character. The alliance of the sovereigns against France, he

regarded in the light in which posterity will, on the whole, be likely to view it; as not more reconcileable with policy than national justice. 'It may be worth our while,' said he, 'to consider what company we are to keep in this affair.' Of these confederates to revenge the murder of a king, one had seized the throne of her husband by means of that very crime, and the others had gone shares with her in the plunder received by the glorious *settlement* of Poland in 1791! 'It is a bold mockery in ministers,' he added, 'to propose to a nation, lovers of justice and freedom, a part in such a confederacy.' At home, the prosecutions instituted by the government against the friends of reform, gave him more serious uneasiness, and, indeed, spread no small dismay among the people, who beheld them urged by the very minister, that, a few years before, had been seen solemnly to pledge himself in the same cause. Major Cartwright took a deep interest in the fate of Muir; his strong feeling breaks out in the letter, which he wrote in his behalf to the Duke of Richmond. 'It is long,' says he, 'since I had offered your Grace any of my thoughts; but a letter from on board the hulks, which I have just read, bears down all reluctance. Read that letter, my Lord, I beseech you; if the writer merit the treatment he has received, I also, and your Grace ought to be cast into dungeons among felons. But if he be the victim of that corrupt system, which your Grace and I have labored to reform it is needless to say more.' But the trial of Holt, the printer of Newark, gave him still greater uneasiness. This young man was fined fifty pounds for each publication, and sentenced to four years' imprisonment, for publishing two addresses, one of which was originally drawn up by Cartwright himself, and received the sanction of a society composed of the most distinguished characters of the day. He attempted, but in vain, to take this unfortunate man from his fate, by coming forward to prove himself the author of the obnoxious paper. The sentence proved the ruin of Holt's affairs, and caused his premature death. Yet, on this occasion, Cartwright's stern sense of duty, brought him forward to exculpate the minister, of whom, as he says, experience had taught him to think so badly, from the charge of having himself, as a member of the Society for Constitutional Information, given countenance and circulation to the paper on which Holt's prosecution was founded. Mr Pitt, he tells the editor of the *Monthly Magazine*, was not a member of that society, nor of any other having similar objects.

The trials of Horne Tooke, Hardy, Thelwall and others, followed shortly after, and such was the consternation they excited, that many of the most zealous members of the constitutional societies sought anxiously to withdraw their names from them, and to shrink if possible into obscurity. Though the conviction of Tooke and the others would have made the situation of Cartwright himself not a little critical, he appears to have felt no personal anxieties; and far from concealing his connexion with the prosecuted reformers, he addressed to the Duke of Portland, then secretary of state, his old friend, and former political associate, a request for permission to visit Tooke in prison. In the letter preferring this request, he not only avows his personal friendship for the prisoner, but alleges as an additional reason of his desire to see him, that he had himself for many years cooperated with him in the matter of parliamentary reform, and that it was indeed the great happiness of his life to have been active in the very cause, for which the accused was suffering. His grace replied, that Mr Cartwright could have only the same permission to visit Mr Tooke, which government allowed to other persons; a refusal we presume, in plain English, to admit him at all.

In the event of these trials Cartwright, as may be supposed, felt a profound interest. On that of Hardy, he says, 'Gibbs spoke like an angel,' and Erskine, who made a speech of six hours, (some length in *those* days), was at last so exhausted, that he could not be heard by the judges, and an intermediate person was obliged to repeat what he said. 'These trials,' he writes to a friend, 'will turn out as I expected, vindictive and iniquitous, and instead of suitable prosecutions for smaller offences in a very few wrong headed men, we shall have a war against liberty and its virtuous defenders.' Hardy's acquittal gave him incredible satisfaction, and he communicated it to his family in the following letter; 'Hardy is acquitted. J. C.' When Tooke was pronounced 'not guilty,' the air, he says was rent with shouts of joy, and 'Felix trembled.' After they subsided, Tooke, who during the whole trial had conducted himself with wonderful firmness and readiness, 'addressed the court in a few words, and then said, "I hope, Mr Attorney General, that this verdict will be a warning to you not to attempt to shed men's blood, on lame suspicions and doubtful inferences." He then turned to the jury, and thanked them for his life. Every man of them shed tears. This brought tears to

the eyes of Tooke who, during a six days' battle, had stood as dauntless as a lion, giving a stroke to one and a gripe to another, as if he were at play. The jury were out but five minutes, a time barely sufficient to reach their room and return; yet on first forming it, the panel bore such evident marks of management and partiality, that Erskine said to Tooke, "They are murdering you." When it is added, that there were but four of the jury who thought at all favorably to Tooke, it may be imagined what they thought of the trial. 'Had these trials,' said Cartwright, 'ended otherwise than they have, the system of proscription and terror, which has for some time been growing in this country, would have been completed and written in innocent blood.' On Thelwall's trial, the Duke of Richmond, his old acquaintance and a brother reformer, made, to use his own words 'a sneaking figure;' and Sergeant Adair's opening speech of seven hours, nearly lulled him to sleep, as it actually did the Chief Justice. Notwithstanding his deep concern in these proceedings, our politician, during all the time they lasted, never failed to write home from London, where he was attending the trials, the most minute instructions respecting the management of his farm at Brothertoft; an evidence of a certain constancy of spirit, which distinguishes here and there a few.

Tooke, as we have mentioned, showed no want of a manly tone on his trial. When urged by Chief Justice Eyre not to acknowledge his handwriting too hastily, he broke forth with great spirit; 'I protest before God, that I have never done an action, never written a sentence in public or private, I have never entertained a thought on any political subject, which taken fairly, with all the circumstances of time, place, and occasion, I have the smallest hesitation to admit.' The evidence given on the trial, by his friend Cartwright, was of a piece with the confidence and honesty of this declaration. Though interrogated by the attorney general as to his own private opinions, and how, under their guidance, he would act in particular cases, he did not seek to shelter himself under the legal excuse, that they were irrelevant to the cause and ensnaring to the witness, but answered them with a fearlessness against which the judge thought fit to caution him. It seems evident from his testimony, that Tooke, no more than himself, ever aimed at subverting the constitution and monarchy. The Society for Constitutional Information, of which, together with many of the first minds in

the kingdom, they were members, was designed to promote the recovery for the people of what were deemed their lost rights, representation in parliament, universal suffrage, and annual parliaments. Its members were men, probably, whose views differed essentially, some of them not going all the length of these objects, while others may have gone beyond them. But in regard to Tooke, the testimony of Cartwright is direct, that he was so far from inimical or disrespectful to royalty, that he at all times held the aristocratical and regal branches of the government as excellent in themselves, and that, with reform in other particulars, they would compose a more perfect constitution than any on earth. As for himself, Cartwright being examined touching some expression said to have been made, about strangling the vipers aristocracy and monarchy, said he did not remember it, but if it had been used in speaking of governments where monarchy and aristocracy were enemies to freedom, he should have thought it extremely well applied. 'Had I thought,' said he, 'there were any conspirators in the society, I would have assisted in bringing them to justice.' He did not look on Mr Paine's writings, for instance, as any more a conspiracy to overturn the government, than any other discussions on government. Chief Justice Eyre observed to him, that, 'in connecting himself with bad men, he could not be sure that he would not be carried beyond his own purpose;' and that his declaration that he would sign a petition for reform with any man however bad, though it might be very sincere, was not very prudent. The popular story goes, that the patriot replied to this remark, that 'he came not there to state what was prudent, but what was true.' He made no reply, however, at the moment; but he used to say, that in the stage-coach of reform, he certainly no more regarded the company he kept, than when he served in the militia with what Arthur Young called the dregs of the people, or in the navy, with the refuse of the night-cellars of London, and felons from Newgate. Lord Wellington, I suppose, said he, concerned himself but little about the private character of the soldiers with whom he gained the battle of Waterloo. This mode of thinking, aside from its abstract justness, might be pardoned in one who constantly, at elections, saw in persons of the highest rank, and the greatest pride, condescensions to the lowest and basest of mankind, which he himself was never known to practise.

In the course of Tooke's trial, a letter from him to Lord Ashburton appeared in evidence, in which he thus states the difference of opinion between himself and his friend Cartwright, on the subject of representation; that his friend thought every man had an equal right to freedom, to representation as the security of that freedom, and to a vote as the means of being represented; and that his final conclusion was, that every man should have an equal share in the representation. 'Now, my lord, I conceive the error to lie chiefly in the conclusion; for there is a great difference between having an equal right to a share, and a right to an equal share.'

In 1795, he published his '*Commonwealth in Danger*,' in answer to Arthur Young's '*Example of France a Warning to Great Britain*.' Young had in his work treated our reformer with that small share of ceremony, used by political controvertists in all countries to their antagonists, be their private virtues what they may; and after bestowing liberally on him the epithets of Jacobin, cut-throat, thief, and reformer, (names of like contempt, probably, in his esteem) paid him the farther compliment of recommending his works to the notice of the attorney general. Cartwright indignantly repelled an assertion of Young's, that he was an indiscriminate admirer of all the acts of the French Revolution. But however he might lament its excesses, he honestly avowed that he had never seen the moment, when he wished to behold the ancient despotism again riveted on that people; and there are not a few who will think him in the right. Young probably repented this virulent abuse, as he introduced himself, a few years after, to the politician of Brothertoft farm, and a cordial intercourse ensued between them. During the year 1795, our reformer, though much indisposed in health, was employed in drawing up various petitions. Being unable from illness to attend a county meeting at Lincoln, he prepared and sent a petition; and on its being rejected there without a reading, determined to present it to the House of Commons in his individual name. In his letter to Fox, accompanying it, he says, 'As long as memory remains to me, I cannot forget the obligation of an Englishman to you, for the generous and indignant opposition you have given to the two execrable bills now pending.' These were probably Lord Grenville's bill 'for the safety of his majesty's person,' and Mr Pitt's 'for preventing seditious meetings,' which two bills very much changed and extended the law touching treason and

sedition. To this Fox replies, 'I need not apprize you that my sentiments with regard to universal suffrage are far different from yours; but this difference, on an important point, has never prevented me from doing justice to your character, and sincerely admiring that ardent zeal, which has constantly animated you for the liberty of mankind.' Upon presenting the petition, after remarking that he himself had never had the support of the gentleman from whom it came, who had, on the contrary, been the strenuous supporter of Mr Pitt, till that minister abandoned the principles which had raised him to popularity and power; Fox added that strong encomium, which appears as a motto to our reformer's Biography; 'He is one whose enlightened mind, and profound constitutional knowledge, place him in the highest rank of public characters; and whose purity of principle, and consistency of conduct through life, command the most respectful attention to his opinions.'

In the following year he wrote 'The Constitutional Defence of England, Internal and External,' a work recommending the general arming of the people, and was proposed as a candidate for Boston, with such success as might be anticipated for one, who declared he would not expend a farthing in consideration of being elected, nor ring a bell, nor even contribute to a ball. In the year 1797 occurred an alarming mutiny in the British navy, on which occasion Cartwright wrote to his friend Admiral Young, suggesting the employment of Lord Howe, called 'the father of the navy,' to bring back the disaffected to their duty. Lord Howe, it is known, was afterwards successfully used for this purpose. Our reformer, after many ineffectual efforts, succeeded also in assembling a respectable meeting at Boston, where he proposed and carried a petition *for reform*, afterwards presented in the House of Commons by Mr Tierney. This Boston meeting was not gotten up without much pains. Of the chief persons on the popular side, wearied, it would seem, by ill success, or alarmed by the times, some wished to see the example first set by places of greater importance, and a great many, though sensible of its propriety, doubted the expediency of at present acting up to their conviction. This mode of reasoning was no novelty to our reformer; but was very unacceptable to one, whose views no complexion of times affected. 'It is not uncommon,' was his frequent remark, 'to hear persons say in seasons of emergency, they have nothing to do with politics; it would be as laudable to declare, they had nothing to do with

morality.' He produced this same year, his 'Appeal on the English Constitution,' of which this indefatigable man published another edition in 1798. In the temper of the day, these publications were made not wholly without danger. 'I think it evident,' Fox tells him in a letter, 'that nothing can now be published in favor of liberty without considerable risk. The decision against Wakefield's publisher appears to me decisive against the liberty of the press, and indeed after it one can hardly conceive how any prudent tradesman can venture to publish anything, that can, in any way, be disagreeable to ministers.' In fact, the difficulty Cartwright had in finding a publisher for his second edition, obliged him to become his own bookseller.

For several succeeding years till 1802, he was much occupied with the affairs of his brother, Dr Cartwright, whose various inventions were as unprofitable to himself, as they were conducive to the prosperity of the country. Many piracies had been made of his patents, in detecting which the Major displayed his customary indefatigableness. His friend, Lord Stanhope, proved a very useful witness on the trials, from his profound knowledge of the principles and practical application of mechanics.

The subject of a temple of naval celebration, as it was called, being much talked of about this time, he brought forward a design, among others, which was pronounced by persons of the best taste, to be by much the noblest, and which the venerable West declared ought to immortalize its author. Among the designs he offered, were five nautic orders of architecture; and of the decorations some have been since adopted in the monument of one of the naval heroes of Great Britain. His work called 'The Trident,' contains the particulars of this scheme, in which he labored with his usual energy and his usual success; for after several years of toil, and an expense of five hundred pounds to himself, it was finally rejected. He could scarcely be brought to believe, that the prejudices existing against him had any share in preventing its adoption.

Such was the ill favor in which our politician was held by the government, or at least by its partisans and emissaries, that it led, ridiculously enough, to the apprehension of an agent of his, sent into Yorkshire to collect evidence of the piracies of his brother's machinery. In his possession was found a letter of instructions from Cartwright, which met the same fate as

Roderick Random's Greek diary, and seems to have puzzled the Bow street officer, as much as Roderick's production did Captain Oakum and his sapient council. Under the mask of *drawing-off rollers* and *crank lashers*, the decypherer thought he had found something extremely dangerous to the state. On learning the fate of his unlucky emissary, the Major hastened to leave a note with the attorney general, saying, that as his agent was suspected of having been sent on an improper errand, he was ready to explain the business. His majesty's officer, however, whose head ran on nothing less than treason or sedition, sent to say that no information from the Major could be of any use. When the truth came out, he was happy to excuse himself by a polite note to our patriot.

In the following year, 1803, was published his 'Letter to the Electors of Nottingham,' which, in the true spirit of party, the Anti-Jacobin Review, on the one side, called a senseless jargon, and the Monthly, on the other, complimented for its nervous and animated eloquence. He finds much fault in this publication with Mr Reeves, for calling the English constitution a monarchy, and with Arthur Young, who had asserted that the Commons House of Parliament was not intended to represent the Commons of England. The threatened invasion of Napoleon spread, at this time, dismay throughout the country, and turned the Major's attention to other matters. He was anxiously employed in devising a mode of defence; and particularly in promoting meetings in Lincolnshire, to represent the unprepared situation of that coast. He made a plan, also, of a flying drawbridge, which met the approbation of the late Sir John Moore; and a pike of his invention, though not adopted by government, was much praised by military men of different nations. A model of it has since been sent to Greece. The riots at Nottingham in this year, made him remark, that when the adherents of government were concerned in such things, there was no cry through the kingdom, no inquiry after the perpetrators. But now, when the popular voice was on the side of freedom, and there was some tearing of coats, the nobility and gentry were liberal of their subscriptions to suppress both.

It may be mentioned among the evidences of the alarm that prevailed in England of an invasion, that the Morning Chronicle thought it necessary to state, that Mr Secretary Yorke had written to the Lord Lieutenants 'not to *drive* the country on the approach of the enemy, but only to remove horses and oxen.'

The country seems to have been in no state of preparation; and, indeed, in the temper of the times, it was not easy to select a mode satisfactory to all parties, when the friends of the people beheld in a standing army, the bulwark of the augmenting power and arbitrary measures of the government, and the ministry were too jealous of the revolutionary spirit of the day, to put arms into the hands of the people. It was the desire of the popular party, and was strenuously urged by the subject of this memoir, to enrol and arm the population. Of this plan Fox writes to Cartwright, that its practicableness was doubtful, even if men could get the better of their alarms at democracy; but that these alarms made it now impossible. 'It is vain,' says he, 'to hope that you, who mean freedom, can ever get your systems patronized by those, whose wish it is to enslave the country more and more.' Cartwright was not only extremely apprehensive of an invasion, but believed that England rather than Ireland would be the scene of it; an opinion which is justified by the declarations of Napoleon, as given in a well known work. His publication on this subject, called 'England's Ægis,' appeared, for the first time, in 1804.

In the year following, our politician, whose increasing interest in public affairs rendered his agricultural pursuits irksome to him, let his estate in Lincolnshire, and removed to Chase Green, Enfield. He now published the 'State of the Nation,' in a series of letters to the Duke of Bedford, urging the necessity of popular interference by public meetings, for obtaining a reform of representation, and a removal of ministers. He writes on this subject to his friend Wyvill, 'Although the spell of Mr Pitt's direful power is broken, it might be as well to let the public see that meetings may once more be held, without being dispersed by servile magistrates.' The language of the opposition, in regard to the ministry, was, at this period, not a little bitter. Its 'unexampled profligacy, the abominable corruption of the government,' the 'fallen character of the minister,' 'freedom betrayed,' and the 'wicked audacity of unbridled power,' are the expressions of Cartwright, reechoed or justified by his political correspondents. Yet these were by no means always willing to second his movements against this state of things; and on the occasion of his urging a meeting in Middlesex, he received from many distinguished persons, the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Dundas, Earls St Vincent and Stanhope, and Grey and Fox, very flattering replies indeed, but all concurring

in the opinion expressed by the last, that it was no time to agitate the question. 'Indeed,' says his biographer, 'this time, in the opinion of many persons, never came at all,' or, at least, the Major never had the happiness to hit on it. His friend Stanhope seems to have discovered the secret, and fairly confesses himself weary of the dull old road of meetings of the freeholders convened by the aristocracy. We find the unwearied Major busy, nevertheless, at this time, in promoting a meeting in Middlesex, and several other meetings. In November, 1806, he was invited to stand for Boston, where, as usual, he was unsuccessful in the canvass; and, in 1807, he put forth several publications on his favorite political topics.

In this year the whigs gave way, in the administration, to a more powerful party, to whom Cartwright was as earnest as to the others, in recommending his systems of defence. Having drawn up the schedules of two bills, one for arming the people, the other for their more complete representation, he was very anxious that his friend, Sir Francis Burdett, should bring them forward during the session of 1808. Burdett, through indisposition, and from a pretty sober conviction, besides, that he should meet no support, suffered the session to pass without presenting them, to the no small dissatisfaction of the zealous Major, who had spent six months in their preparation. He writes to Lord Stanhope on this subject, 'The time is flying; the session draws near its close; before another, the king of Sweden may cease to reign, Spain may be completely French, Turkey partitioned, and Napoleon in readiness to direct to the destruction of this country, all his immensity of means.' Such were the terrors of the name, which has passed on 'the tide of times' into history. In the affairs of Spain, where the war of the constitution had just broken out, he felt the same kind of interest as in the advancement of constitutional freedom in his own country. He addressed to the Viscount Materosa, one of the Spanish deputies then in England, several letters on the form of the constitutional government, recommending the same plan of defence that he had proposed for England. He sent him also his newly invented spear. At a meeting held in Middlesex, he moved a resolution approving the reestablishment in Spain, of the ancient government of a king and an independent Cortes, so balanced as to secure liberty. It was this form of polity, formerly common to all the feudal nations, that he wished to see restored, in what he considered its purity, to his own

country. He moved another resolution expressive of a hope, which time has sadly disappointed, that what had been lost to liberty, by the levity and excesses of France, might be regained by the gravity and virtue of Spain. The progress of reform is not slower, than political predictions are uncertain. At this moment, France, of all the continental nations, is perhaps the nearest to freedom, and Spain the farthest from it.

In 1809, he answered a publication of Lord Selkirk's, who had argued against the general principles of his constitutional system, chiefly from what he had witnessed of the effects of extensive representation in America. In the August of this year, he exerted himself with some success at a meeting at Hackney, where thanks were voted him for the ability and perseverance he had shown in the cause of parliamentary reform. In August, 1810, he sold his house at Enfield, and removed to James street, Buckingham Gate, with the same view which had caused his previous removal, that he might, as he said, 'be nearer his work.' In the following year, he bestirred himself in getting up a dinner-meeting of the friends of reform, at the Crown and Anchor, which took place on the tenth of June, and, in the same month, it was resolved by a committee of it, to form a society for that purpose. A letter from Sir Philip Francis, on the subject of this meeting, is worth inserting as entirely characteristic. He says, 'My resolution on the subject of your kind letter, was founded on experience, and taken with deliberation. I cannot alter it. You are the only person to whom it would be unbecoming in me to say, that I am not young enough to embark again in what I believe to be a hopeless enterprise. I doubt the actual existence of an English public, for any great national purpose; and, if it exists, I am not its debtor. As far as I can judge, the mass of the English population is inert. The country has lost its passions, and is not fit for action. This general opinion is open to exceptions, and you are one of them.'

The distress which prevailed this year, in Nottingham, Derby, and Leicester, deeply wounded the mind of Major Cartwright; and in the hope of bringing back the unhappy rioters in these places to their duty, he addressed a letter to a respectable frame-work knitter, on their folly and impolicy in destroying property. This letter was circulated gratis in the disturbed districts, and had a salutary effect. In the succeeding year, learning that thirtyeight persons, who had assembled in Man-

chester to consider a petition for parliamentary reform, had been apprehended, and sent to gaol fifty miles from their homes, on the charge of having administered an unlawful oath, he determined to go himself to the spot, in order to give them the advantage of a defence. He had the pleasure to find his exertions rewarded by their acquittal, and he proceeded thence on a kind of political tour, which gave great scandal to the friends of government. It was interrupted, however, by only one unpleasant circumstance. A small number of working mechanics having assembled at Huddersfield, to pay their respects to the 'father of reform,' were disturbed by the appearance of a militia officer, with several constables, who came to execute a warrant against our Major, and to examine his papers. 'The business not being conducted in the most polite manner, the spirit of the old reformer was roused, and he sturdily refused to permit his papers to be searched.' After a long altercation, one of the party, more courteous than the rest, begged as a favor to himself, that the Major would acquiesce in the examination, which ended, and a constable left in attendance, he was allowed to retire to sleep about half past three in the morning, a most unseasonable hour to this veteran of seventythree, who seldom transgressed ten o'clock. Next morning, accompanied by constables, with the additional escort of a crowd of curious spectators, he went in his carriage to the magistrate, who finding nothing more treasonable among his papers than some drafts of petitions, allowed him to pursue his journey.

The result of this political tour, was a vast number of petitions got up in various places, of which four hundred and thirty were consigned to the care of our tourist. On his return to town, he endeavored in vain to procure, from the office of the under secretary of state, a copy of the warrant served on him at Huddersfield. This circumstance with others was stated in a petition, presented in the House of Lords, the first of June, 1813, by the late Lord Byron, who said of the petitioner; 'He is a man, my lords, whose long life has been spent in one unceasing struggle for the liberty of the subject, against that undue influence which has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished; and whatever difference of opinion may exist as to his political tenets, few will be found to question the integrity of his intentions. Even now, oppressed with years, and not exempt from the infirmities attendant on his age, but

unimpaired in talent, and unshaken in spirit, *frangas, non flectes*, he has received many a wound in the combat against corruption; and the new grievance, the fresh insult, of which he complains, may inflict another scar, but no dishonor.' The insult to himself occupied however, a small part of his petition, which consisted chiefly of examples of various obstructions to the right of petitioning, and persecutions of those attempting it. This right, it states, inestimable in particular for giving peaceful vent to discontents, is treated as a sort of treason; while those who exercise it, are stigmatized as criminals, and pursued by violent strainings of the law, and even by courses wholly illegal. The petition was rejected in both the Lords and Commons, on grounds foreign to its merits; the objection in the latter being the usage of the House, to receive no bill that was printed. In the August of the next year, 1814, our veteran suffered a severe indisposition, and was, in his own words, 'so near a certain bourne, that, had not Dr Maton turned me short round, I should probably have slipped in.' His chief anxiety, however, during this indisposition, was that he might live to finish his letters to Clarkson on the slave trade, and bribery at elections, two species of traffic which he classed together in enormity. The plan of making the slave trade piracy, since adopted by his own country, and by others, was developed first in these letters. Nine months before the death of the reformer, he had the great satisfaction to find his views adopted in the Message of the President of the United States, and to learn, a few months later, the conclusion of a treaty between this country and Great Britain to the same effect.

In 1815, he made, in Scotland, a second political tour, during which he delivered some lectures. Having written various letters to the person, who was to continue these after his departure, his widow, two years afterwards, wrote to inform Cartwright, that she had been offered a large sum to give them up to government, and that, *in justice to her family*, she must close with the proposal. Cartwright answered laconically, 'that it gave him infinite satisfaction to find that any of his letters were considered so valuable, and begged her to make the best bargain she could of their contents.'

It were tedious to mention all the meetings on the subject of reform, of taxes, and of standing armies, attended or promoted by this unwearied champion of the people. His efforts seemed, towards the close of 1816, to be in a fair way of bearing fruit.

Flattering testimonies of respect were paid him from the many meetings held throughout England, and petitions thronged in from all sides. He surveyed with prodigious satisfaction the coaches employed to transport these huge rolls of parchment from his house to St Stephen's Chapel. One of these from Manchester, signed by nearly forty thousand persons, was designedly permitted by Lord Cochrane to unrol as he presented it, and drag its tedious length on the floor. But this prospect was soon clouded by the panic produced by the Report of the Secret Committee, and Lord Sidmouth's Circular to the Lord Lieutenants of the disturbed counties. Loyal addresses were got up, the habeas corpus act was suspended, and every restriction was placed on public meetings. Major Cartwright and his coadjutors ran such risk of being placed in the same conspicuous situation, as Horne Tooke and others a few years before, that even his friends began to cast on him the same censures from fright, as his enemies from anger. Our patriot remained wonderfully unmoved, amidst all this abuse and ridicule, which sometimes reached him from conspicuous quarters. Mr Canning, in his place in the House, called him 'the old heart in London, from which the veins of sedition in the country were supplied.' The 'Times' said, the reformers had brought back the day of the Crusaders, when, as the story goes, an army marched to the holy city with a goose at its head. The Major set himself to work, nevertheless, to evade the new acts of parliament restricting public assemblies, by setting on foot *petitions by twentys*. At a meeting in Palace Yard, in the following year, a resolution was adopted for 'presenting to Major Cartwright, the patriarch of parliamentary reform, the thanks of the meeting for the exertions of half a century; while the spotless purity of his own life would have done honor to the noblest cause.' A very different notoriety awaited him in Devonshire, whither he went, not long after, on a visit to Northmore, the poet. A provincial ministerial print prefixed to the alarming intelligence, in capital letters, the word 'BEWARE.' He published in this year, two political tracts; in one of them is engraved a model of a polling table, for the purposes of the ballot, a mode of voting advocated by Cartwright from the earliest period of his political researches, though incorrectly spoken of in the Edinburgh Review, as a suggestion of Bentham's. We find him sending also to Mr Adams, now President of the United States, the second part of his 'England's Ægis,' with

his 'Appeal to the Nation.' There is inserted in the biography an answer from Mr Adams to the letter accompanying these, in which he says, 'You exhibit in the paper written in 1776, the rare, I had almost said, the only example of an Englishman who understood, and openly stated, the real merits of that great question, on which the continued union or severance of Great Britain and her colonies depended, but from which all, or the greater part of the nation, shrank or averted their eyes.'

In the year 1819, our reformer was engaged in an enterprise well fitted to bring down on him the arm of authority, and certainly very novel, as originally projected, to parliamentary and constitutional practice. Learning that some persons at Birmingham intended, in the words of his biographer, 'to urge in a manner never before attempted,' the claim of that town to be represented, he determined to visit Birmingham, and 'prevail on them to change, in some degree, their object, and mode of proceeding.' It had been their intention to elect four members, and *claim for them a seat in the House*; the Major wished them to elect but one, who should be styled, not their member, but their 'legislatorial attorney,' and who should be empowered to present a letter to the Speaker; thus, as he said, attempting a new mode of application, by sending a petition in form of a living man, instead of one on parchment.' The pretty natural consequence of his taking part in these proceedings, was a bill of indictment against him for conspiracy and sedition; on learning which he left the metropolis, whither he had returned, and rode ninety miles to Leamington, in a single day (though then in his eightieth year), in order to meet the charge, and prevent the warrant's being served on him in London.

Having entered his bail, and returned home, he forthwith applied himself to his favourite objects, as if no prosecution had been hanging over him; interesting himself in behalf of the sufferers at Manchester, and especially in the proceedings at St Petersfield in this year. He could hardly be persuaded, that the prosecution against himself would be persisted in; and when he found it necessary to send out *subpoenas*, he wrote to the Duke of Roxburgh, whom he had summoned with much *sang froid*, 'My dear lord Duke, you have probably heard of my having been indicted for conspiring against the Constitution.' To Northmore he says, with more vivacity, 'The work of hell is already begun, in a gross and flagrant packing of the jury.'

I am in great hopes this trial may serve the cause of reform.' When the jury was struck off, he strongly remonstrated against the injustice of limiting the panel to esquires, and argued with such spirit and ability, as to draw an expression of admiration from the master of the Crown Office. As he found his arguments of little avail, he declared he 'could only consider the manner in which the jury was composed, as a legal assassination of the defendants.' Had he lived to see the amended jury bill, it would have repaid him amply for this prosecution. On the same day of the month, five years after, Mr Peel proposed to extend the number of persons qualified to serve on juries, and gave the case of Major Cartwright as an instance of the extreme inconvenience of the contrary plan. The interval between the notice of trial and the assizes, naturally one of some anxiety to his family, he passed with his usual equanimity. The trial was originally to have come on in March, 1820, but from the indisposition of Mr Justice Best, it was postponed, to his great mortification, till August, his friends still flattering themselves that the prosecution would be allowed to die away. Meanwhile, he took the chair at a meeting held to celebrate the birth day of the queen, and petitioned the Commons for reform in parliament, in his own name, and in very uncompromising language. At length, on the fourteenth of August, the trial came on, and after a defence adapted rather to recommend his political opinions, than ensure his acquittal, for which purpose he did not even produce a witness, he and the other defendants were found guilty. It was not till the 29th of May, 1821, that he was called up for judgment, in the Court of King's Bench, when he was sentenced to pay a hundred pounds, and to be imprisoned till it was paid. The judge, while pronouncing sentence, spoke with so much respect of the character of the patriot, that our Major declared that he surely thought he was going to offer him a reward, instead of inflicting a fine. Before he left the Court, he produced from one of his waistcoat pockets, which he always wore of unusual size, a large canvas bag, out of which he deliberately counted a hundred pounds in gold, dryly observing (though we know not whether he meant to pun), that they were all *good sovereigns*. Very cordial greetings awaited him as he left the court, from his friends, who thought him happy to have escaped a long imprisonment at his age; a sentiment he could by no means coincide in, as he thought it hard to pay a

hundred pounds for a 'delusion,' that being the only crime the judge imputed to him.

He had meanwhile continued his political efforts of all sorts, and from this time till his death, he was equally busy in them. He published, among other things, in 1821, '*Hints to the Greeks*,' which seemed, as a general officer remarked, the results of long experience in the art of war; and wrote, also, some resolutions for a meeting at Hackney, a Letter to the Edinburgh Reviewers, and his Letters to Lord John Russell. In February, 1823, was held the last Middlesex meeting he ever attended, where, with his usual intractableness, he refused to give up his resolutions for some others proposed, and finally carried them almost unanimously, after having spoken in their favor with great energy. He was at a meeting at Lincoln, on the twentysixth of March, and in May, he published '*The Constitution Produced and Illustrated*,' his 'last best work,' as Northmore denominated it, and of which Dr Parr remarked, 'that the author wrote with more energy the older he grew, and that he did not believe there was any man of his age, capable of producing such a work, adding, in a laughing tone, "except myself."' Cartwright was then in his eightyfourth year. On this, as on a former occasion, he was obliged to become his own publisher. He wrote, likewise, a letter to the President of the Greek Congress, and to one of the Greek deputies.

It was in the September of this year, that he had the gratification of extending his hospitality to the wives of the two principal leaders in the Spanish Revolution, Quiroga and Riego, who, while their husbands were yet buffeting its storms, had taken refuge in England. They were received under the roof of the aged patriot, with the usual kindness and courtesy of his private demeanor, increased by his interest for the cause in which they were sufferers. In the agonies endured by the family of Riego, while the fate of that unfortunate chief was in suspense, he sympathized so acutely, that, for once, his habitual fortitude forsook him. When that fate was sealed, he circulated in all parts of London, a handbill recommending to the friends of liberty to wear mourning, and promoted a subscription for a monument, of which he himself drew the design. On the 9th of February, 1824, was written the last of his compositions that appeared in print, entitled '*A Problem*.'

His long and active life was, however, drawing to a close, and he began to be sensible of it. In a visit to Admiral Freeman, his old messmate, and a brother midshipman at the sea-fight between Hawke and Conflans, he confessed the feebleness which he carefully hid from his family; and he told another friend 'I have strong indications that the old machine is nearly worn out.' On the 13th of July, 1824, he had the gratification of receiving from the venerable Jefferson, a long letter on various interesting political topics, the signature of which, he observed with pleasure, was as firm as that of the Declaration of Independence. 'Your age of eightyfour,' says the sage of Monticello, 'and mine of eightyone years, ensure us a speedy meeting; we may then commune at leisure on the good and evil which, in the course of our long lives, we have both witnessed.' This letter he answered on the twentyeighth of July.

His last effort was to dictate a letter to the Mexican envoy. He was now evidently sinking very fast. Alone with his friend, Holt White, he said to him, 'White, they would not insure my life at Lloyd's for a fortnight.' Amidst his last sufferings, he expressed his surprise that, with a frame so exhausted, he should find it so hard to die, but exclaimed emphatically, 'God's will be done!' Two days before his death, General Michelena, the envoy spoken of above, sent 'to inform him that the scheme of Iturbide had failed, and that the liberty of Mexico might be considered as established.' On hearing it, he exclaimed with fervor, 'I am glad of it, I am very glad.' These were almost his last words. He expired on the 23d of September, 1824, being within a few days of the close of his eightyfourth year. He was buried at Finchley, on the thirtieth, followed, according to his desire, by only a single mourning coach; but numbers of the poor crowded to witness his interment. A subscription for a monument was set on foot a few days after, at the meeting for which his friends and political admirers expressed their sentiments of his public and private worth, in terms which may be best described by a version of the passage from Tacitus, prefixed to his biography. 'There was nothing he so thirsted for as Liberty. Alike just in all the relations of life, as a citizen, a politician, a husband, and a friend, insensible to interest, pertinacious of right, unassailable by fear.'

The reader can hardly look back without respect, on this history of a life devoted with energy, and without remission,

to the advancement of public good. These efforts were aimed at objects abstractedly so just, and apparently so conformable to the spirit of the English constitution, that to us in this country, to whom the principles of popular liberty are familiar, the odium into which they brought our reformer, with a large and most respectable portion of the British public, seems somewhat extraordinary, especially as he had for coadjutors, at different times and in his various plans, so many persons of the highest talents and virtue. This may, perhaps, as well as the lukewarmness in his allies, of which he complains so much, be more intelligible from recollecting the general state of parties in England, the particular complexion of the times, and probably some peculiarities of character in our reformist himself.

When he first came before the public in that shape, the only political distinction existing in England, was that between Whigs and Tories, of whom it has been said, that the latter believed in the divine right of kings, and the former in the divine right of noblemen and gentlemen. His first association was naturally with the Whigs; but besides, that he found among them a very large portion, whose whole political zeal was a struggle for place, it is pretty evident from his work on *American Independence*, that his ideas respecting the theory of government, and the rights of the people, far outran the doctrines of most of that party. A politician, who had the boldness to argue the question of the colonies, on the broad ground of natural and inherent rights, was not likely to carry along with him, especially with the doctrine of universal suffrage in his train, any large portion of the aristocratical monarchists of England, whose largest notions of liberty hardly transcended the glorious revolution and settlement of 1688. They did not disdain, indeed, to employ the ‘ancient rights of the people of England,’ as a watchword in their attacks on the power of the crown; nor were they indifferent to possessing in the House of Commons, a body of independent gentlemen, as a balance to that increasing influence. Some of them, in furtherance of this security against the crown, might extend their views to the obtainment of annual parliaments; but it is doubtful, whether, among all our reformist’s coadjutors in that body of men, there was one who would have been willing, in the event, to confide to the people such a share in the government as he sought for them, and as his plans, in their accomplishment, would have brought about.

Had Cartwright lived in a republic, we cannot help thinking he would have made a much better and stancher republican, than he did monarchist. Yet he always professed an attachment to the government of his own country, which we have no reason to doubt. But though he declared it to be of all systems the most admirably adapted, in its purity, to secure happiness and liberty, it is somewhat questionable, whether the reform in representation, by which he would have restored that purity, would be, at this day, and in the altered nature and circumstances of the commons of England, very consistent with either the shape or the spirit of the English Constitution, with its large tincture of monarchy and aristocracy. The most popular branch of the British parliament is anything but a representative body, in the proper sense of the term, and is composed, for the greater part, of persons placed there by those, who have a deep interest in supporting the power of the crown, and the influence of the aristocracy. That the House of Commons is a great bulwark of the people and liberty; that it embraces no contemptible amount of intellect and knowledge; and that, with the aid of that public opinion which, in some way, makes itself heard in all countries, it is a most efficacious check of the monarchical and aristocratical branches of the government, is all evident enough. But Arthur Young spoke very truly, when he denied it to be, even in theory, a representation of the commons of England; nor is it quite apparent how it can ever become so, with permanent safety to the government in its existing shape. Our reformer's aim was to make it so in fact, and so effectual to that end was the plan he projected, that it could not fail to prove a stone of stumbling to nobility and gentry, who were not quite prepared to see the influence of the other estates transferred so largely, and in the end, perhaps, entirely to the commons. Charles Fox and Horne Tooke demurred at his universal suffrage, and one of his Whig friends tells him plainly, that however they might use the people for their own purposes, they could never think of giving power to any but those in whom they could confide. Mr Fox's sincerity in the cause of reform is very suspicious. It is told of him, that he declared it to be a fine thing for argument in the House, but not fit to be carried into execution, and that he used to say, 'Whenever any one pushes a plan of reform, say you are for nothing short of

annual parliaments and universal suffrage, and then you are safe.'

The writers on the history and political constitution of England, have long been divided into two parties, the first of them contending that the liberties of the commons, especially their right of representation in parliament, are coeval with the Saxon laws, but that they suffered gradual encroachments on the part of the crown; that they were not originated, but only reasserted, under Charles the First, and subsequently confirmed by the Revolution. The other party, with Mr Hume in the van, have always treated these ancient rights in the commons as imaginary. They consider the early attacks mentioned in their annals, on the power of the crown, to have been only the resistance of a turbulent aristocracy, by whom the liberties of the commons were as little thought of, as they were themselves impatient of kingly encroachment. These liberties, they assert, are wholly of modern growth, and for this plain reason, that the commons of England were in former days so poor and dejected, that neither had they any property or privileges of value to protect, nor did they really form a body for any rights to inhere in. Cartwright was of the former school; and in claiming the right of the people to general representation, and the restoration of annual parliaments, he deemed himself to be vindicating nothing more than the ancient privileges of the English commons.

But it was not on this ground merely, that he made his stand for these rights of representation and annual election, declaring them to be as unalienable as that liberty whose chief security they were, and which he asserted to depend neither on charters, laws, nor usage. With all respect for the *politicians*, who busied themselves with this controversy, it seems to us that however interesting as a portion of history, it went but a little way towards settling the real point of dispute between them, which was, after all, only a question of more or less popular influence in parliament. To political reasoners on this side of the water, who take the safety of the people for the supreme law, and the people themselves as the fountain of all constitutions, a question about forms so obsolete as those debated in this controversy, appears of little moment; and the importance attached to it by both sides, only serves to show how apt men are, in the language of lawyers, *stare decisis*, and to shrink from the admission of principles, which may involve they know

not what deviation from the existing order of things. The adherents of the established system could scarcely have insisted, however, that it was unchangeable according to the circumstances of society and property, else they might have been at some loss to defend the happy revolution of 1688, or excuse the coming in of king William of glorious memory, any more than the invasion of William the Conqueror. The advocates of reform hardly required the authority of ancient usage, for changes which they justified on a much broader ground. Neither party, in truth, cared to express openly, the one its aristocratical, and the other its popular inclinations. As it must have been pretty obvious to both sides, that to model the representation on the plan proposed, would have been to produce a body unlike any practically known to the constitution, since the day of the Roman Conquest at least, it can excite no wonder, that the question should be regarded by the adherents of government, as a conflict between monarchy and democracy. However correctly our reformer may have construed the ancient English constitution, and however auspicious his aims to the general cause of liberty, their results to the existing institutions of his country were somewhat more questionable.

There were not a few, however, who, either from party zeal or conviction, cooperated with him in the propagation of his views, and declared, as Lord Shelburne expressed himself, ‘that the House of Commons ought to be free in every circumstance of its constitution, and that the rights of the people consisted in annual elections, and a total change of the representation.’ But it would appear, that a great many of these found a sudden ‘change come over the spirit of their dream,’ on the breaking out, or during the progress at least, of the French Revolution. The storm seemed so portentous, and threatened such trouble in the whole social and moral atmosphere, that many good patriots were alarmed at the very name of reform, and clung steadfastly to church and state, as to a plank in shipwreck. Public opinion in England suffered a sudden revulsion, in which the minister would seem to have had his full share; for the arbitrary measures, by which he enforced the public quiet, caused no small astonishment to the friends of reform, and leave his respect for liberty somewhat of a problem at this day. Our reformer, on the contrary, separating the principles from the practice of his French

neighbors, with none of the sensibilities of the aristocracy, moreover, on the score of their influence, or of the clergy, it may be presumed, for the safety of the church, could be brought to see no reason against the correction of abuses at home, in the excesses which had attended it abroad ; but rather an argument for it, on the ground that the rendering of justice to the people was the best security against their violence. He had besides, all his life, had very little respect for the 'expediency,' which both foes and friends had so often thrown in the path of his efforts ; and he avowed, that the only sort he could conceive of was the restoring of affairs to their just basis, the ancient, free, English Constitution. Even had the justness of his construction of it been more apparent, the wisdom of this pertinacity, at such a crisis, may create another doubt. It is a bootless task to struggle against popular alarms, in seasons of peculiar excitement ; but, on the other hand, it is scarcely a more favorable period for reform, when the current of public affairs runs smooth, and the rocks, which threaten the bark of state, are overlooked in the tide of prosperity.

The various publications of Major Cartwright, of which we have mentioned many, and of which a copious list is subjoined to his biography, were chiefly occupied in the illustration and enforcement of his political opinions. His 'English Constitution Produced and Illustrated' contains the substance of these, which, indeed, might be included in two ; the necessity of an actual representation of the people, to express their will ; and of arming them, in order to enforce it. In all his writings there is manifest a fervent love of liberty ; a reference of it to immutable principles of our nature ; and a strong bias in favor of popular rights and power.

With opinions and sentiments of this complexion, and with his inflexibility in asserting them, he would naturally draw on himself detraction and ridicule from a very large party of the British public. They, who thought he aimed at nothing less than to pull down the state, were easily led to think that his private manners answered to these mischievous political designs. From the distinguished names, which he numbered among his correspondents and allies, it may be supposed, however, that this blind prejudice was confined chiefly to the vulgar, who are found in all parties and all classes of life. Many eminent persons, who differed from him on fundamental points of politics, have rendered justice to the integrity of his motives. We

have seen what eulogium was passed on him by Mr Fox in parliament, and the very judge, who sentenced him on his conviction for the transactions at Birmingham, bore testimony to his public as well as private honesty. From personal ambition he seems to have been entirely free; 'I would always,' he says, 'rather support than move;' and provided things were well done, he was quite careless of appearing in them. His darling objects advanced so slowly to accomplishment, that it was happy for him he possessed a most abounding patience, 'being content,' he was used to say, 'to deposit the acorn in the ground, provided posterity might live under the branches of the oak.' A person once exclaimed, on hearing some instance of this noble indifference to private gain, 'They will never persuade me that this man wants a revolution, that he may share in the plunder of the rich.' Of his habitual reverence of principle, he gave an example in the case of his brother, Dr Cartwright. When this gentleman received ten thousand pounds from parliament, to indemnify him for losses on inventions, which have so materially benefited England, the Major, though he had unrepiningly sacrificed for him a large part of his own fortune, would make no interest on the occasion, with the members, 'because he was of opinion that government was not bound to indemnify individuals for losses in private speculations.' In his domestic manners he was the very reverse of the uncompromising champion, that he appeared in the arena of public concerns. He was very accessible to such as wished to consult him, especially if they required his assistance. As these could approach him without introduction, he sometimes suffered from his unguarded charity, which embraced equally all parties and sects. Like all good-hearted people, he was extremely fond of children, in whose sports he would join with great glee, saying, like the Vicar of Wakefield, 'that the greatest treat he could enjoy, was the sight of happy human faces.'

Notwithstanding his incessant occupation with politics, he introduced them rarely into conversation, and discussed them with temper. He had some facility of adapting his conversation to his company, and added to this feature of a polite man, a fund of information and agreeable anecdote, gathered from his various conversation with men. By the poor, whose friend he was, as well in private life as in politics, he was highly beloved. He was a model of punctuality in business, especially in answering letters, of which Cobbett says (if he be authority

for anything), that he 'wrote a hundred in a week, by way of episode to his other labors,' which were not small, as he left behind not less than eighty works on various subjects.

This studious labor was the counterpart of his industry in pursuing his public aims. Indeed, the most remarkable feature of his character, was, as we have said, his dauntless perseverance. Neither age, sickness, nor infirmity; neither considerations of inconvenience and difficulty; nor the certainty of obloquy and ridicule, ever turned him from his purpose. His own insensibility to these, led him to exact the same diligence from others, with too little allowance for circumstances, and perhaps some slight degree of intolerance. He was heartily tired of the delays of his political friends, and the nearer they approached what he deemed the indispensable point, the higher his anxiety rose that they should leave nothing undone. But this pertinacity may be fairly set down to his solicitude for the public weal, rather than any conceit in his own judgment, as he was willing enough to follow, if others would only go on. He was very anxious to inspire his own firmness into all his political coadjutors. When Hobhouse was committed to Newgate, the old Major, hearing that his friends advised some kind of recantation, in order to shorten his imprisonment, hurried off to exhort him against it; 'but,' said he, 'I found my errand unnecessary; the young man was firm.' He used to relate with great glee, that when the meeting and dinner took place at the Crown and Anchor in 1809, for the promotion of parliamentary reform, at which more than twelve hundred persons attended, there was one man present, who was after his own heart. This man, having had his shoulder dislocated, in getting into the room, went to a surgeon to have it set, and then returned to the dinner. He acted pretty steadfastly on his favorite maxim, that a great deal might be done, not only by striking while the iron was hot, but by striking it till it was hot. His feeling on the subject of public concerns coincided with that of Lord Charlemont, who thought that in the pursuit of what is right or salutary, no patriot should be discouraged by defeat, since, though he should not live to witness success, he may lay a foundation for the success of his survivors. So Cartwright, writing to the Duke of Bedford, exclaims, 'Surely, my Lord, it is for those alone whose objects are vicious, and whose means are corrupt, to be afraid of making efforts till they have conviction they shall succeed. In the best sense,

they always succeed. In such a cause, defeat is far from disgrace. They cause discussion, which, when they do not deviate into faction, is the soul of their cause.' One feature of faction, at least, made no part of our reformer's character. Regarding human nature on the bright side, and interpreting most favorably the actions of others, he was averse to all detraction and personal abuse, and discountenanced by his example that indiscriminate invective, which has been everywhere the scandal of party politics.

His private conversation was remarked for a scrupulous regard to truth, as well as for simplicity of language. His diction was in this, as in his writings, forcible and pithy, but not exaggerated. His manner had no vehemence. In his argumentative compositions, the matter is often diffuse, and the manner desultory, for he had not been trained to composition by the study of the learned languages, his ignorance of which gave perhaps to his English style that purity and correctness, for which it has been admired by good critics. As he advanced in age, his style became more compressed, and his last writings, when upwards of eighty, are acknowledged to be his best. In public, where he often appeared as a speaker, he made no pretensions to oratory. He went strait about convincing his hearers, dealing out good sense in correct language, but at a length which was sometimes tedious to those less zealous than himself, and which was the theme of some ridicule with the presses to which he was obnoxious. He was generally heard, however, with respect and even deference; and it was his great influence, no doubt, with a large class, which made him the conspicuous mark for ribaldry and ridicule. But though his delivery was usually cold and deliberate, he was sometimes animated to warmer efforts. When noticing, on one occasion, some unjust aspersions on Sir Robert Calder's naval conduct, his indignation, combining with his recollections of his favorite profession, drew from him a burst of eloquence, which excited the continued plaudits of the assembly.

Though familiar with defeat in his public career, he has given some examples of political perspicacity, and aided in the accomplishment of some objects, which both entitle him to the merit of a wise politician, and establish his claim as a benefactor of mankind. His boldness in foreseeing, and in his suggestions for preventing, the issue of the American war; that firmness in resisting abuse, to which his country is perhaps

indebted, in a good degree, for her improved jury bill ; even his justification of the French Revolution, while, with many good and wise patriots, its excesses had caused its first principles to be forgotten ; are, among others, evidences of a firm purpose, and a sagacious mind. Even in cases where his policy may seem more questionable, his merit is not small, who, amidst the crowd of wicked and scheming politicians, receives the praise of integrity at the hands of his friends, and to whom his enemies can only object, that he is mistaken.

ART. VII.—*Lectures on the Elements of Political Economy.*

By THOMAS COOPER, M. D. President of the South Carolina College, and Professor of Chemistry and Political Economy. Columbia, S. C. 1826. 8vo. pp. 280.

THE author of this volume has long been known for his literary enterprise, as well as for a singular versatility of talent, exhibited in several treatises on a variety of subjects. He held a high rank, in the first place, as a writer on those connected more immediately with his profession. We have heard him spoken of as a chemist and mineralogist of no common attainments. With the extensive and intricate science of law and of jurisprudence, general as well as local, he seems to have been familiar. He is the translator of the elementary Institutes of Justinian, and the elaborate, practical commentator on that work ; and we believe he was the first to make accessible to American students a book, about which they were destined to hear so much, and which yet, in the common course of legal education, was placed far beyond their reach. It is now on the shelves of every lawyer's library. In profound political inquiries, too, Dr Cooper has not been inactive. We have seen essays from his pen in this department, which cannot fail to have a certain degree of interest with the mass of readers ; for whatever may be thought of the soundness of the principles, or of the accuracy of the reasonings by which they are established, they display at least ability, and are entitled to the praise of being written with spirit and perspicuity, although they are upon difficult and somewhat abstruse questions.